FIFTY-FIRST THOUSAND!

PRICE ONE PENNY.

SOCIALISM

MADE PLAIN

BEING THE

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL

MANIFESTO

OF THE

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION.

EDUCATE. AGITATE. ORGANISE.

PUBLISHED AT
The Offices of the Social-Democratic Federation,
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CONSTITUTION AND RULES

PASSED AT THE GENERAL CONFERENCE

held on August 4th, 1884.

OBJECTS.

To form Branch Societies and to affiliate Organised Socialist bodies throughout Great Britain and Ireland, for the purpose of securing equal social and political rights for all.

RULES.

I.—Any person who accepts the principles of the Social-Democratic Federation, is eligible to become a Member.

II.—The minimum subscription will be one penny a week; regular additional contributions are urgently invited from those who can afford it.

III.—All organised Societies, Unions, or Groups, shall be admitted to the Federation, subject to the approval of the Executive Council on their paying a yearly contribution of not less than one penny per member, or if consisting of less than 30 members, 2s. 6d. per annum to the Executive Council.

IV.—If any number of persons, not less than six, apply to the Executive Council for leave to open a branch of the Federation, the Executive shall at once inquire into the circumstances, and, if satisfied, render such assistance as may seem expedient to form them into a branch. All such bodies shall be deemed branches of the Federation.

V.—Branches shall elect their own officers, and draw up such rules as they deem proper for their own management, provided that they in no way go against the principles of the Federation. Branches shall report progress to the Executive at least once a month, and affiliated bodies be requested to do the same.

VI.—Where several branches exist in the same town or district, they may form themselves into local Central Committees, consisting of delegates from the various branches, for local business.

VII.—Persons sending subscription, with declaration of principles, to the Executive Council or any of the Local Committees, shall as soon as possible, be drafted on to the branch nearest their residence.

VIII.—There shall be an Annual Conference, consisting of delegates elected by branches of the Federation, and by its affiliated bodies.

IX.—Every branch and affiliated body will be entitled to send one representative, if it contains not less than twenty-five members. Branches and affiliated bodies numbering over 100, may send two delegates and one for every additional hundred. The expenses of the delegates to be defrayed by the body that elects them.

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SOCIALISM MADE PLAIN,

BEING THE

Social and Political Manifesto of the Democratic Federation.

EDUCATE. AGITATE. ORGANISE.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

THE time has come when it is absolutely necessary that the mass of the people should seriously take in hand their own business unless they are content to find themselves in the near future worse off than they have ever yet been. At present, social and political power is monopolised by those who live upon the labour of their fellows; and Tories or Conservatives, Whigs, Liberals or Radicals strive only to keep the workers ignorant of the truths which most nearly concern them. After the Reform Bill of 1832 the capitalists entered into alliance with the landlords except on one question, and from the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 to this day the lords of the money-bag and the lords of the soil have together been absolute masters of the millions who labour throughout the United Kingdom. So complete has been their control that since the year 1848 no vigorous attempt has even been made to overthrow it. But what has been the result to the workers of this supremacy of the luxurious classes? During fifty years our labourers have competed against one another for wages which barely suffice to keep them alive. Whilst the realised

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wealth and the annual income of the country have more than trebled, those who create these riches remain a wage-slave class, overworked and underfed, at the mercy of every crisis and the victims of each succeeding depression. The improved machinery, the extension of railways, the great steam and electric communications—that vast increase of the power of man over nature which has been the main feature of our epoch, has brought luxury for the few, misery and degradation for the many. Even in the past ten years what have we seen? The interests of Great Britain utterly neglected, Ireland shamefully misgoverned, India ruined and South Africa estranged. In 1874 the Liberals were dismissed for incapacity and Conservatives ruled in their stead for six years. Not a single measure did they introduce during that long tenure of office which could in any way lighten the lot of the millions who toil. The Conservatives having been turned out in disgust the Liberals again try their hand, and once more not a single measure is before Parliament, not a single measure is proposed for future legislation, which can benefit the working men and women who are really the source of all our wealth.

Fellow-Citizens the further success of this pitiful trickery depends upon your ignorance and will last as long as your apathy. Landlords and capitalists, who own the House of Lords and fill the House of Commons, wish nothing better than to protect their interests under the pretence of looking after yours. Take up then your own heritage, push aside these wealthy hucksters of both factions who trade upon your labour, and trust for the future in your own strength alone.

Consider the figures below.

Total Production of the United Kingdom	£1,300,000,000
Taken by Landlords, Capitalists and Profitmongers	1,000,000,000
Left for the Producers	300,000,000

Study these figures all who toil and suffer that others may be lazy and rich; look upon the poverty, the starvation, the prostitution around you ye who labour and return the value of your entire day's wages to the employing classes in the first two or three hours of your day's work. Ponder on these facts, reflect upon these figures, men and women of England, and then ask yourselves, whether it is worth while for such a result as this to bow down in slavish subjection before your "governing classes," whether you will not rather demand and obtain the full fruits of your labour and become your own governing class yourselves. Submit then no longer to a system of Parliamentary Government which is maintained in the interests of those who rob and oppress you—which has proved itself for generations to be alike a failure and a fraud.

EDUCATE! AGITATE! ORGANISE!

Fellow Citizens, we of the Democratic Federation demand complete adult suffrage for every man and woman in these islands, because in this way alone can the whole people give free expression to their will; we are in favor of paid delegates and annual Conventions because by this means alone can the people control their representatives; we stand up for the direct reference of all grave issues to the country at large, and for the punishment as felony of every species of

corruption, because thus only can tyranny be checked and bribery uprooted; we call for the abolition of all hereditary authority, because such authority is necessarily independent of the mass of the people. But all these reforms when secured mean only that the men and women of these islands will at length be masters in their own house. Mere political machinery is worthless unless used to produce good social conditions.

All wealth is due to labour; therefore to the labourers all wealth is due.

But we are strangers in our own country. Thirty thousand persons own the land of Great Britain against the 30,000,000 who are suffered to exist therein. A long series of robberies and confiscations has deprived us of the soil which should be ours. The organised brute force of the few has for generations robbed and tyrannised over the unorganised brute force of the many. We now call for Nationalisation of the Land. We claim that land in country and land in towns, mines, parks, mountains, moors should be owned by the people for the people, to be held, used, built over and cultivated upon such terms as the people themselves see fit to ordain. The handful of marauders who now hold possession have and can have no right save brute force against the tens of millions whom they wrong.

But private ownership of land in our present society is only one and not the worst form of monopoly which enables the wealthy classes to use the means of production against the labourers whom they enslave. Of the £1,000,000,000 taken by the classes who live without labour out of a total yearly production of £1,300,000,000, the landlords who have seized our soil, and shut us out

from its enjoyment, absorb little more than £60,000,000 as their direct share. The few thousand persons who own the National Debt, saddled upon the community by a landlord Parliament, exact £28,000,000 yearly from the labour of their countrymen for nothing; the shareholders who have been allowed to lay hands upon our great railway communications take a still larger sum. Above all, the active capitalist class, the loan-mongers, the farmers, the mine-exploiters, the contractors, the middle-men, the factory-lords—these, the modern slave-drivers, these are they who, through their money, machinery, capital, and credit turn every advance in human knowledge, every further improvement in human dexterity, into an engine for accumulating wealth out of other men's labour, and for exacting more and yet more surplus value out of the wage-slaves whom they employ. So long as the means of production, either of raw materials or of manufactured goods are the monopoly of a class, so long must the labourers on the farm, in the mine or in the factory sell themselves for a bare subsistence wage. As land must in future be a national possession, so must the other means of producing and distributing wealth. The creation of wealth is already a social business, where each is forced to co-operate with his neighbour; it is high time that exchange of the produce should be social too, and removed from the control of individual greed and individual profit.

As stepping-stones to a happier period, we urge for immediate adoption:—

The COMPULSORY CONSTRUCTION of healthy artisans' and agricultural labourers' dwellings in pro-

portion to the population, such dwellings to be let at rents to cover the cost of construction and maintenance alone.

FREE COMPULSORY EDUCATION for all classes, together with the provision of at least one wholesome meal a day in each school.

EIGHT HOURS or less to be the normal WORKING DAY in all trades.

CUMULATIVE TAXATION upon all incomes above a fixed minimum not exceeding £300 a year.

STATE APPROPRIATION OF RAILWAYS, with or without compensation.

The establishment of NATIONAL BANKS, which shall absorb all private institutions that derive a profit from operations in money or credit.

RAPID EXTINCTION of the NATIONAL DEBT.

NATIONALISATION OF THE LAND, and organisation of agricultural and industrial armies under State control on co-operative principles.

By these measures a healthy, independent, and thoroughly educated people will steadily grow up around us, ready to abandon that baneful competition for starvation wages which ruins our present workers, ready to organise the labour of each for the benefit of all, determined, too, to take control finally of the entire social and political machinery of a State in which class distinctions and class privileges shall cease to be.

Do any say we attack private property? We deny it. We attack only that private property for a few

thousand loiterers and slave-drivers, which renders all property in the fruits of their own labour impossible for millions. We challenge that private property which renders poverty at once a necessity and a crime.

Fellow-Citizens, we appeal to every man and woman among you who is weary of this miserable huckster's society, where poverty and prostitution, fraud and adulteration, swindling and jobbery, luxury and debauchery reign supreme, we appeal to you to work with us in a never-ceasing effort to secure a happier lot for our people and their children, and to hold up a high ideal of national greatness for those who come after. Such an ideal of true greatness and glory, needs but intelligence, enthusiasm, and combination, to make it a reality even in our own day. We, at least, will never falter. We stretch out our hands for help, co-operation, and encouragement, to all creeds and all nationalities, ready ourselves to render assistance in every struggle against class injustice and individual greed. The land of England is no mean heritage; there is enough and to spare for all; with the powers mankind now possess wealth may easily be made as plentiful as water at the expense of trifling toil. But to-day the worn-out wage-slaves of our boasted civilisation look hopelessly at the wealth which they have created to be devoured only by the rich and their hangers-on. To the abject poor patriotism is but a mockery, all talk of happiness, of beauty, of morality, is a sneer. We call, then, upon every lover of freedom to support us in our endeavour to form a real party of the people, which shall secure a noble future for our own and other lands.

The aims and objects of the DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION

are before you. Success can only be achieved by organised effort.

EDUCATE! We shall need all our intelligence.
AGITATE! We shall need all our enthusiasm.
ORGANISE! We shall need all our force.

EDUCATE! AGITATE! ORGANISE!

Signed } *The Executive Committee of the Democratic Federation.*

E. BELFORT BAX,
HERBERT BURROWS.
R. D. BUTLER,
H. H. CHAMPION, Hon Secretary.
JOHN CLARK,
H. FULLER,
H. M. HYNDMAN, Chairman.
J. L. JOYNES.
TOM. S. LEMON.
JAMES MACDONALD.
WILLIAM MORRIS, Treasurer.
JAMES F. MURRAY.
H. QUELCH.
ANDREAS SCHEU.
HELEN TAYLOR.
J. TAYLOR.
JOHN WILLIAMS.

Membership of the Democratic Federation is open to all who agree with its objects and subscribe not less than One Shilling a year. Clubs and Associations are cordially invited to co-operate. Those ready to form Branches should communicate with the Hon. Secretary.

Meetings of the Executive are open to Members after 9 p.m., every Tuesday, at the Offices of the Federation,

PALACE CHAMBERS,

June, 1883. 9, BRIDGE STREET, WESTMINSTER.

STATE ORGANISATION OF UNEMPLOYED LABOUR

AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE HARMFUL SCHEME OF STATE-AIDED EMIGRATION.

The Executive Committee of the Democratic Federation, in putting forward definite proposals for the employment of the increasing number of people out of work throughout the country, recognises clearly that such measures, if adopted, can do little more than help those who are unemployed at the present time; to put an end to such periods of depression in the future the workers must themselves take hold of the machinery of production and distribution, and organise their own work alike in town and in country, in the mine, in the factory, and on the farm, for the benefit of the community. In view of the prevailing distress, however, it is proposed;—

1.—That no Government servant be employed at his or her present wages for a longer period than eight hours in each day. This alone would give room for many now out of work, seeing that the ordinary hours of work in the Post Office and other State establishments are from ten to twelve hours, or more, in the day.

2.—That all uncultivated Crown, or other lands, or lands now in pasture, which in the opinion of skilled agriculturists, would best pay to cultivate, be at once worked with improved machinery by such of the unemployed as are accustomed to or would prefer agricultural occupation. These labourers to be paid the rate of wages which, in the judgment of a board of assessors, shall be sufficient to keep them and their families in

health and comfort, or that such necessary food be sup
plied at cost at a general meal, lodging being provide
on the spot. An equitable portion of the profits, if any
derived from such farming operations to be divided fro
time to time among the people employed.

3.—That any public works of importance in or near an
industrial centre—such as artisans' dwellings, embank
ment of rivers, construction of canals or aqueducts—
should be begun at once instead of their commencemen
being deferred; and that the same rate of wages be paid
in proportion to cost of living, to the workers employe
that is paid to the agricultural labourers, or that thei
feeding be conducted on wholesale principles as above
That if, on valuation of works completed, any profi
should be shown above what such works would hav
cost, at rates of wages for similar work averaged for th
last five years, an equitable proportion of such profit b
divided among the labourers.

4.—That, where possible, light relief works on simila
principles should be commenced for those women o
men, who are incapable of heavy labour; or that the
be engaged on clothing or other work which they coul
exchange through the State with the products of thos
who are at work upon the land.

5.—That the cost of the initial proceedings and th
payment of wages be met by the ratepayers and the Stat
in equal portions, or in such proportions as may be de
termined. The advantage to the ratepayers is that able
bodied persons would be engaged upon beneficial re
munerative labour, instead of upon useless workhous
tasks; the advantage to the State would be that n

permanent pauperism would result from the prevailing
depression. Therefore the Municipalities and the State
should at once organise the unemployed labour and
thereby save expense later.

As the State has organised and admirably worked the
Post Office, Telegraphs, Arsenals, Dockyards, and many
factories, no difficulty need arise with regard to organi-
sation or management.

(Signed) THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF
THE DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION.

Palace Chambers, 9, Bridge Street, Westminster, S. W.
November, 1883.

The Annual Conference shall decide the General Policy for the
g year, and make rules and regulations for the carrying out of its
.

All branches and affiliated bodies must be notified by letter at least
ks before the date of such Conference.

—Branches and affiliated bodies which have not been in existence
than three months before the Conference cannot vote by their
es without permission of the majority of the other delegates.

—Notices of intended amendments to the Programme or Con-
on must be sent to the Executive Council at least one month before
nual Conference, and be printed on the digest of the business which
e sent to all bodies entitled to take part in the Conference at least
ight before it takes place.

—Each Annual Conference appoints time and place of next
g.

—It shall be competent for the Executive Council or for any
branches to summon as many extraordinary Conferences in the
of the year as they may deem fit.

—The Executive Council shall consist of 20 members, who shall be
at the Annual Conference, subject to removal by a vote of cen-
an extraordinary Conference, and shall consist, as far as possible
legate from each branch or affiliated body, who shall report each
o his society, the business transacted at the Council meetings. The
tive Council shall appoint their own officers consisting of a Treasurer
cretary, the Chairman to be appointed at each meeting from among
present. Officers of country branches shall have the right, when i n
n or in any place where the Executive may meet, to attend at the
gs of the Executive Council.

I.—The Executive Council shall be bound to carry out the
ions and instructions of the Annual Conference; it shall cause to be
up and forwarded to all branches and affiliated bodies a half-yearly
and financial statement in October and March.

II.—The Executive Council has power to refuse admission, or may
e any branches or affiliated bodies from the Federation. Such
es or branches may appeal against the action of the Executive Council
Annual Conference, or may demand to have their case brought before
the extraordinary Conferences that may be held between dates of
and the Annual Conference.

—The Executive Council has power to call on any member to
provided that not less than two-thirds of the Executive Council
im or her to be acting contrary to the interests or principles of the
ation.

—The names of all the members of the Executive Council shall be
ed to every official document published by the Executive.

—Anything not provided for in the present rules shall be supplied by
regulations from the Executive Council, subject to the revision of
nual Conference.

I.—That these rules shall come into force from and after the date
present Conference.

Programme of the Social-Democratic Federati

LABOUR is the SOURCE of all WEALTH; therefore WEALTH belongs to LABOUR.

OBJECT:

The ESTABLISHMENT of a FREE CONDITION SOCIETY based on the principle of POLITICAL EQUALI with EQUAL SOCIAL RIGHTS for all and the compl EMANCIPATION of LABOUR.

PROGRAMME.

1. All OFFICERS or ADMINISTRATORS to be elected EQUAL DIRECT ADULT SUFFRAGE, and to be paid the Community.

2. LEGISLATION by the PEOPLE, in such wise t no project of Law shall become legally bind till accepted by the Majority of People.

3. The ABOLITION of a STANDING ARMY, and ESTABLISHMENT of a NATIONAL CITIZEN FORC the PEOPLE to decide on PEACE or WAR.

4. All EDUCATION, higher no less than elementary, be FREE, COMPULSORY, SECULAR, and INDUSTR for all alike.

5. The ADMINISTRATION of JUSTICE to be FREE a GRATUITOUS for all Members of Society.

6. The LAND with all the MINES, RAILWAYS, and oth MEANS of TRANSIT, to be declared and treated COMMON PROPERTY.

7. IRELAND and all other parts of the Empire to ha LEGISLATIVE INDEPENDENCE.

8. The PRODUCTION of WEALTH to be regulated SOCIETY in the common interest of all its Membe

9. The MEANS of PRODUCTION, DISTRIBUTION a EXCHANGE to be declared and treated as COLL TIVE or COMMON PROPERTY.